2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [94] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier), but *ol moron* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*; 561 554 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[582] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] [292] [301] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

[183] [685] A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
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[P.107-A]

561 135 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Cranworth Hamilton. With three text figures*

The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *en-poloosia*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *En-poloosia* is followed by *en-dungore* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two [528] ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-kipaata*; and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former; but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *murran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *murran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *e-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *manyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the [342] *murran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl [361] friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 40 *murran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 40 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Oiboni*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murran* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Oiboni* is [983] regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

[346] After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 40 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle [339] of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Oil-Oiboni* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Oil-Oiboni*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entarekera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Dewerpaan*.

561 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 535 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

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564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kooni" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1906, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language; it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

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796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eń gera, eń gotobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always; I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] [415] [824] [539] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eń gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eń gischon, jo ijok ń gischu, jo ijok eń gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 • 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eń gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

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426 686 [672] the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. [784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by 'Ng ai through death or illness. [783] A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 426 764 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 682 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. [593] [672] Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

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695 685 ol momai l eñ gauo, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open [783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter [572] can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol momai l ol origa l en gulugok or ol momai l ol origa l eñ gob = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol momai l eñ gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol momai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one [787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the eñ gidoñ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

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*121 *171 326 564 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possibility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be excluded either. Now how would these blacksmiths have fared then? If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a pious people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow believers as well as the fellow tribesmen. There still remains another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, is the case even today among the Semite peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the hastening of permanent sedentation in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there arose through that a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from families who did not originally belong to the blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Masai, such people would not sink in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the smiths /320/ returned from Egypt with Israel, their social position must have become better, conditioned by the shaping of the religious cult, in the service of which the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other implements. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

[783] If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites in antiquity.

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*121 *191 326 564 783 If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The Tatoga as well as the Irok man dips a new object fetched from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a distant brook and at the same time washes his hands. The Masai smear with fat the things coming from the hand of the smith -- spear (blade and shoe), sword, knife, razor-knife, ax, sewing awl, pincers, arrow points, branding iron, cowbells, large and small leg-bells, as well as various ornamental objects -- and likewise their hands, which touch these things -- in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What seems adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious cult; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the first that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Masai used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the oldest period of Israel, the time of the nomadism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse: "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Josua /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter: "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Josua /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Araloth." We find the interdict for the use of the iron toll in the 20th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (1)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

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/footnote 1 continued/ make it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the artistic furnishings, the sumptuous priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems, etc.

Here it is /321/ therefore directly stated that the stones will become desecrated through being hewn with iron tools. Circumcision and altar, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the stones of the altar were not to be made unclean by contact with the chisel rendered unclean by the blacksmith, so also the use of the iron knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (1).

1. Even in ancient Egypt the blacksmith's product appears -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as unclean: one opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages drawn on, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that above knows Kain /Cain/ and the Kenites as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the oldest of the ones worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the sources upon which the Jahve Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the smiths, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

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That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as unclean and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the altar was erected out of unhewn stones even in the Makkabäer /Maccabean/ period (1st Makk. /Macc./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 25), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Israelites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Sinai, in Kanaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, or a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the Masai is, /322/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kenites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous